

1959.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

9923

(See the remarks of Mr. WILEY when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 2189. A bill to amend section 411 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, with respect to relationships between freight forwarders and other common carriers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S. 2190. A bill for the relief of Antonio Miosi Castronovo; and

S. 2191. A bill for the relief of Michael Hsiao-Hsi Yih; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GORE:

S. 2192. A bill to promote the foreign relations of the United States by providing for the establishment of educational institutions in foreign countries; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota:

S. 2193. A bill to provide for the sale of certain lands in the national forests; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. CLARK (for himself, Mr. MORSE, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. McNAMARA, Mr. MURRAY, Mr. NEUBERGER, Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, and Mr. YARBOROUGH):

S. 2194. A bill to amend section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended (31 U.S.C. 757b); to the Committee on Finance. (See the remarks of Mr. CLARK when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MORSE (for himself and Mr. NEUBERGER):

S. 2195. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the western division of The Dalles Federal reclamation project, Oregon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. MORSE when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

## RESOLUTION

Mr. JAVITS submitted a resolution (S. Res. 134) favoring assistance by the U.S. private economy in the American corporate technical assistance program, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. JAVITS, which appears under a separate heading.)

## CITIZENS' COUNCIL FOR ADVOCACY OF FREEDOM

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to establish a Citizens' Council for the Advocacy of Freedom.

The purpose of the council would be to:

Reevaluate the Communist global ideological challenge;

Reappraise our own efforts in the light of that challenge;

Increase public awareness of the importance of the battle for men's minds and of our efforts to (a) counter the Soviet offensive, and (b) lay a foundation of free ideas—translated into the language that peoples of other lands can more easily understand—upon which to build a better world;

Increase the use of the ingenious know-how which our free enterprise system has developed for spreading freedom's word.

## NEED FOR GREATER FREEDOM IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

Currently, the U.S. Information Agency is, by and large, doing a commendable job in this field—within the limitations of money and personnel provided that Agency. I am aware, too, that under present law, an Advisory Commission has been established to review the work of the Agency and its effectiveness, and to make recommendations for improvement of its activities.

The purpose of my bill is in no way to reflect unfavorably on these commendable efforts in this field.

However, I believe that a greater United States and free world effort is needed to combat the Communist ideological offensive.

The war of ideas—if a missile-hydrogen war can be prevented—may well determine the winner of the conflict between communism and freedom.

Around the globe, the Communists are carrying on a many-pronged offensive to extend their control over more lands and people. On the ideological front, the Red efforts at selling communism outdo us at about a 10 to 1 to 20 to 1 ratio in comparison with our own effort for spreading the freedom word.

The establishment of a top-level Commission would, I believe, better enable us to effectively combat the Communist propaganda campaign and, in a more positive sense, lay a better foundation for peace.

## THE COUNCIL: CITIZEN EXPERTS IN MASS MEDIA KNOW-HOW

The council would be comprised of the best minds in America in the field of mass media. It would be composed of at least 15 members, as follows: 8 from private life, 4 legislators, and 3 representing ICA, USIA, and CIA. Of those selected from private life, at least half would be experts to represent radio, television, publishing, and other forms of information dissemination.

The Council should make a report of its findings and recommendations to the President and the Congress within 6 months after its formation—preferably by early 1960.

The goal would be to make greater use of the know-how of our free enterprise system in mass media—which has served our political, economic, and social life so well—for the task of more effectively presenting a real picture of U.S. life and ideals to the world.

To allow Senators who may desire to do so to join as cosponsors of this bill, I request that it lie on the desk for 1 week.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I also request unanimous consent to have a copy of the bill, accompanied by a supplemental statement, printed at this point in the Record.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and statement will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2188) to provide for the establishment of a Citizens' Council for Advocacy of Freedom, introduced by Mr. WILEY, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on For-

eign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

## FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SECTION 1. The Congress finds and declares that the ideological struggle between the free world and the Communist powers is one of the most crucial fronts of the cold war. Political, economic, and military alignments can well be shaped by its outcome. If the ideals of freedom, as symbolized in this country, are to prevail in that struggle for men's minds and hearts the vague, blurred, and often distorted image of America which has been created by our adversaries must be replaced with a picture of the American and free way of life which is not only truthful but understandable to other peoples and translatable to their needs and aspirations.

It is the purpose of this Act to provide, through a high-level Council composed of outstanding persons from private life who are leaders in the informational fields, and officials from the legislative and executive branches of the Government, for a reevaluation of the scope of the Communist ideological challenge, and of the adequacy of existing programs, together with recommendations for improving policies and procedures to meet that challenge.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF COUNCIL

SEC. 2. (a) There is hereby established a Council to be known as the Citizen's Council for Advocacy of Freedom (hereinafter referred to as the "Council").

(b) The Council shall be composed as follows:

(1) Four members appointed by the President from private life;

(2) Four members appointed by the President of the Senate, two from the Senate (one from each political party) and two from private life;

(3) Four members appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, two from the House of Representatives (one from each political party) and two from private life;

(4) Three members to be designated by the President, one from each of the following agencies: the United States Information Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the International Cooperation Administration; and

(5) Such other members as the President may designate, from time to time, as essential to the functions of the Council.

(c) In selecting members from private life, the President, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, respectively, shall make certain that at least half of these members represent radio, television, publishing and/or other major forms of mass media or other information dissemination or evaluation fields.

(d) The Council shall elect a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among the members.

(e) Any vacancy in the Council shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(f) Eight members of the Council shall constitute a quorum, but a lesser number may conduct hearings.

## DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL

SEC. 3. The Council shall reevaluate the scope of the Communist ideological challenge, and the adequacy of existing programs, policies, and procedures to meet the challenge. In carrying out its function, the Council shall—

(1) make recommendations for the presentation abroad of a more realistic picture of the American way of life in a manner which is understandable to other peoples;

(2) consider and make recommendations with respect to the more effective utilization

of the technique and methods developed by private enterprise specialists in the mass media fields for the presentation abroad of the American way of life;

(3) formulate a program to meet the immediate and long-range needs occasioned by the Communist ideological offensive;

(4) make recommendations for coordinating approved programs and policies at all levels of Government; and

(5) make recommendations for concerted and cooperative action among the nations of the free world in meeting the Communist ideological offensive.

#### COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS

SEC. 4. (a) Members of the Council from the legislative and executive branches of the Government shall serve without additional compensation, but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties of the Council.

(b) Members of the Council from private life shall each receive \$50 per diem when engaged in the performance of the duties of the Council, plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

#### STAFF OF THE COUNCIL

SEC. 5. The Council shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.

#### POWERS OF THE COUNCIL

SEC. 6. (a) The Council, or any authorized member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places, and take such testimony, as the Council or such member may deem advisable. Any member of the Council may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Council or before such member.

(b) The Council is authorized to secure directly from any department, agency, or independent instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government any information it deems necessary to carry out its functions under this Act; and each such department, agency, or instrumentality is authorized and directed to furnish such information to the Council upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman.

#### REPORTING

SEC. 7. The Council shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to the President and to the Congress not later than six months following its formation. Upon the submission of its report all functions and powers of the Commission shall terminate. There shall be included in such report recommendations for subsequent evaluations, from time to time as the Council may deem necessary, of our information programs for the purpose of keeping such programs adequate to the challenge.

#### AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION

SEC. 8. Such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act are hereby authorized to be appropriated.

The statement presented by Mr. WILEY is as follows:

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

Today, the free world is faced with a grave threat to its existence: namely, communism. Around the globe, we are engaged in a life-and-death struggle with communism. Although there are many fronts, the contest for men's minds is a major battleground.

At the recent congress of NATO nations in London, for example, a subcommittee on Soviet and Western propaganda techniques reported that deficiencies in Western propa-

ganda may lead to defeat the West in the cold war.

"The U.S.S.R. has set up the most gigantic machinery ever known for the purpose of enslaving public opinion," it pointed out. "It is to this machinery, as much as to their military might, that the Soviets owe their principal achievements, including their territorial successes," the subcommittee reported.

#### WE HAVE THE BEST STORY TO TELL

We may as well face the fact that the Communist threat to our security—if missile-nuclear warfare can be avoided—will continue for many years ahead. Although the threats will come on many fronts—including the military and the economic—the battle of ideas may well be a real determining factor in the tide of the conflict.

As a free nation, we have the best story to tell in the world. The American system provides: Freedom for which all men yearn, respect for human dignity, opportunity to attain personal goals, minimum control by government, cultivation and respect for family and human relations, opportunity to improve economic status, protection of religious, speech and press liberties, and a host of other precious rights and freedoms.

Overall, our system has provided more good things of life for more people than any other system in the history of the world. Yet, time after time, we come off second best in the ideological contest with the Communists. The American people, I believe, have the right to ask the question: "Why?" And to get some straight answers.

#### WE SPEND LESS BROADCASTING "FREEDOM" THAN ANNUAL COST OF ADVERTISING NEW CARS

First, let's look at the scope of our program. For comparison: the United States spends less in spreading the freedom word than American auto manufacturers spend in advertising new cars.

As a further example, in 1957 (the latest year for which complete figures are available):

The 100 leading advertisers spent over \$1.4 billion, almost 10 times the amount requested in the 1960 budget for the U.S. Information Agency; and

The total U.S. advertising for products exceeded \$3.1 billion, or about 26 times the 1960 USIA budget.

#### COMMUNISTS OUTDO US 10 TO 1

Second, our idea-spreading program is infinitesimally small in comparison to the Communist effort in this field. According to best estimates, the Soviet Union, alone, spends between \$500 million and \$1 billion on propaganda broadcasting. In addition, the Communist-dominated orbit countries are also "shotgunning" the Communist line of ideas—including falsehoods and distortions of fact—around the world.

Reportedly, the Kremlin spent more money just attempting to jam the Voice of America broadcasts than we spent on our whole information program.

In the light of these factors, the U.S. investment in the truth campaign is microscopic—about one-tenth to one-twentieth the effort by the Communists.

#### NEEDED: GLOBAL REVIEW OF THE IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

Until now, the United States has not had a global review of our ideological campaign, of the kind that would enable us to top the Communist's offensive; and in a positive sense, to lay the ideological foundation of ideas and ideals of freedom—which our own history has confirmed—upon which to build a better world.

#### DANGER OF DEFEAT BY DEFAULT

The free world—of which the United States is a leader—I believe would commit a grave error if we allow the ideological battle to be lost by default.

In failing to win the war of ideas, we might well turn over to the Communists (a) millions of people; (b) vast areas of land; (c) and measureless strategic resources now in uncommitted countries. Ultimately, this could be far more costly in guns, ammunition, and other weapons of warfare, than the price, now, of an effective freedom-spreading campaign.

This must not happen.

#### CONCLUSION

The establishment of a top-level Council composed of the best brains in the country in this field would, I believe: (1) Enable us to win the ideological battle; and (2) in a more positive way, lay the ideological foundation of freedom upon which to promote peace for the future.

#### ASSISTANCE BY PRIVATE ECONOMY IN CORPORATE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference, a resolution which favors the development by American business—including management, labor, investors, and farmers—and by private research organizations of a corporate technical assistance program which would make available from private business additional thousands of high caliber U.S. technicians for work overseas in the newly developing nations.

At the present time, the International Cooperation Administration reports that more than 6,000 U.S. technicians and administrative personnel are working abroad in the Government's technical assistance program, a 20 percent increase over the 1958 figure. The agency estimates that a minimum of 10,000 qualified personnel in the technical and managerial field could be utilized in many areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America with a total population of over 1 billion people.

Mr. President, whatever may be thought about the various foreign-aid programs of the United States—I have uniformly supported them; and, in fact, I have thought they were inadequate for the purposes of the cold war struggle—the technical assistance program is very popular in our country. A broad spectrum of U.S. opinion which may have opposing views on other parts of the mutual security program nevertheless agrees that technical assistance—originally the point 4 program—has become a most respected and indispensable element of U.S. foreign policy. Indeed, President Eisenhower has characterized technical cooperation administered by the International Cooperation Administration as one of the "most valuable elements of our entire mutual security effort."

Nevertheless, as has been stated time and time again on the floor of the Senate by me and by other Members, in this struggle we are fighting with our right hand tied behind our back, because American private business simply is not taking part in the struggle. As a result, we cannot expect to win over the Soviet Union, which controls the total economy of that part of the world, whereas our Government controls only a part of our economy; in fact, 20 percent of our economic structure is the most that our Government controls.